SPECIAL MEMO FROM NAACP EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

The CRISIS

MARCH, 1961 15¢

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—WENDELL WILKIE

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy

Vol. 68, No. 3 **Whole Number 581**

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March, 1961

COVER

Joan Andrews (L) and Marilyn Pryce of Spelman College have been chosen by their College to receive foreign study-travel awards, beginning in June 1961. The grants are for travel and study for one year and two summers.—Reeves Studio

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The Crisis was founded in 1910 and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Crisis is published monthly from October to May inclusive and bimonthly June-July and August-September by The Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., at 16 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y., Arthur B. Spingarn, president; John Hammond, vice-president; Samuel Williams, secretary; Theodore Spaulding, treasurer; and Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15 cents a copy. Foreign subscription $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given, and three weeks notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while The Crisis uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Reentered as second class matter July 22, 1949, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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Mrs. Marguerite Belafonte, NAACP special projects director, and Dr. W. H. Young, chairman S. C. state conference finance committee, receive $500 check for life membership from Charles Mason (extreme L), president S. C. Funeral Directors Assoc., and Gertrude Haywood.

Mrs. Louise Warjes, membership chairman Flushing, N. Y., branch, and Sanford Lewis, president, accept $100 subscription on NAACP life membership from James Braxton, president, and John Boyd, vice-president, of the Flushing Postal Alliance.

Rev. Carl Fuqua (R), executive secretary of the Chicago, Ill., branch accepts $500 life membership check from Ishmael Madison for the Woodlawn AME Church, Chicago. Church pastor, Rev. Jonathan Dames stands at left.

■ **Herewith are presented the basic facts about the difficult situation in Haywood and Fayette counties, Tennessee**

Which Way Out . . . ?

By Gloster B. Current

FORTY-FIVE miles due east from Memphis, on U. S. Highway 64, lies the somnolent town of Somerville, an ordinary village in the cotton belt of southwestern Tennessee. And fourteen miles northward on a macadam road, State Highway 76, lies Brownsville, another town in an adjourning county; perhaps in another world, if you ask the Negroes who have lived there for many years.

These Tennessee hamlets have been the foci of a series of agonizing events since 1958, when colored landholders and tenant farmers sought to register and vote.

On a summery day in June, 1958, a 36-year old high-school teacher, educated at Iowa State University and possessor of a Master's degree, walked past idlers, farmers, and townspeople milling about the square —colored and white—into the courthouse in Brownsville, and asked to be allowed to register. Not since 1938, when the leaders of the NAACP branch were driven out of town, one lynched, and the organization destroyed, had a colored resident of Haywood County got up the nerve to try to qualify as a voter. He was the grandson of Magistrate Murph Currie, one of two Negroes to serve in that office during Reconstruction. His name, Currie P. Boyd—a name to be reckoned with later.

Boyd was shifted from one registration official to another. His persistence cost him his job, though he was able, fortunately, to find another in an adjoining county.

Along with several others, who were also turned down, Boyd enlisted the aid of Attorney J. F. Estes of Memphis and together they organized the Haywood Civic and Welfare League, which purposed to encourage Negro registration and voting. On July 27, 1958, a delegation of five men and one woman, accompanied Attorney Estes to Nashville where they lodged a complaint with the Tennessee Election Commission, alleging evasive tactics on the part

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GLOSTER B. CURRENT is the director of NAACP branches.

Wide World

FOOD FOR "TENT CITY" DWELLERS—*Three men stack boxes of food in one of the tents at "Tent City" after its arrival from Chicago. The food came from various organizations in the Chicago area. The sharecroppers were evicted from their farms because they registered to vote. Explanation of the white landowners is that the Negroes are being replaced because of mechanization.*

of the Haywood election commissioners.

The chairman of the State Board, Dr. Sam Coward of Livingston, promised the group that these tactics would cease, that new commissioners and a registrar would be appointed. Subsequently, several persons nominated by the State Board refused to serve, and it was not until February, 1960, that a three-man county board was selected which agreed to function.

On May 17, eight Negroes registered at the Brownsville courthouse, the first to register in 72 years. Still, the registrars were dilatory. On the one day each week, Thursday, on which registration took place, though hundreds of Negroes stood in line, in sunshine or rain, the registrars were laggard. Only a few Negroes got registered. It was necessary to file a suit in Federal Court on July 2, because the commission omitted reference to Civil Districts 2 and 9, predominately Negro areas, in the public notice published in the Brownsville *States Graphic* on June 24.

Dr. W. D. Poston, chairman of the registration commission, offered the lame excuse that "we ran out of time." Despite slowdowns and other discouragements, almost 300 Negroes succeeded in getting qualified to vote prior to the August 4 primary.

Haywood County has a population of 23,395, of which 62 percent are Negroes. Quickly sensing what could happen to the power-balance in the county if the 7,921 voting-age Negroes, or even a substantial portion of them, became registered, the white landowners, merchants, bankers and politicians organized defensive measures to reduce Negro voting strength.

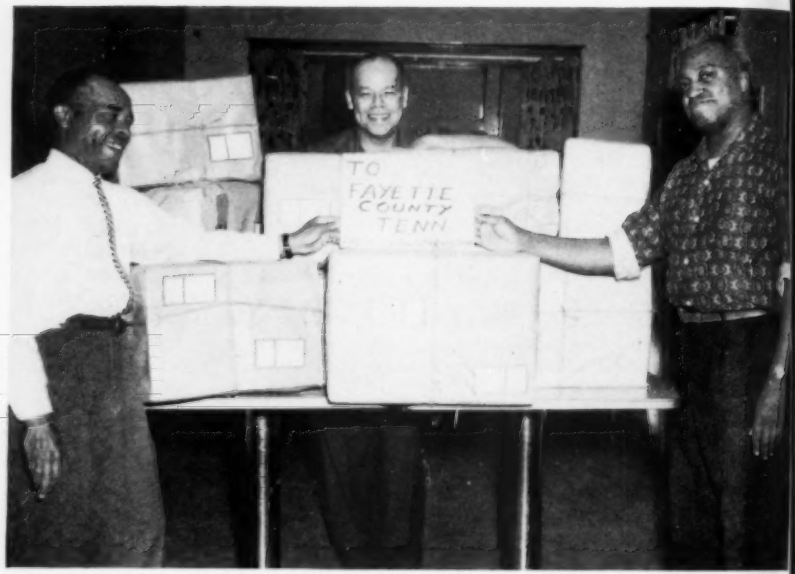
Reports filtered back to the Negro community of planned economic reprisals; of the organization of a White Citizens Council to counteract the Negro organization, the Civic and Welfare League; of threatened evictions; abrogation of tenant-farming contracts; and denial of credit and loans. These threats became realities before and after the August primary when a tight squeeze was applied which included boycotts against known voters and leaders of the civic league. They had difficulty in purchasing food, medicine, and necessary merchandise, including gasoline.

FAYETTE COUNTY

Over in Fayette County similar events were taking place. Though Negroes have voted for several years in that county, whites succeeded in keeping the number small.

The population of Fayette County is 24,577, of which 70 percent are Negroes. Until 1959, of the potentially eligible 8,990 voting-age Negroes, only 58 were permitted to register, according to the 1959 report of the United States Civil Rights Commission. Whenever Negroes registered, they would be subjected to threats, intimidation, and other discouragements, including arrests and economic pressures.

The return of a Negro fugitive, Burton Dodson, from East St. Louis, Illinois, and his subsequent trial for the shooting, eighteen years earlier, of a Fayette County Sheriff, kicked off a train of events which ended by upsetting the ante-bellum world of Fayette inhabitants. Dodson was de-



Hickman Photo

CITIZENS *of St. Paul, Minn., responded to NAACP appeals for clothing for the "evicts" of Haywood and Fayette counties. Photographed (from L) are Robert Patterson, St. Paul branch treasurer; Wilbur Cartwright, a branch member; and Leonard Carter, NAACP field secretary.*

fended by Attorney J. F. Estes. In selecting the jury, Estes questioned each prospective juror on his views toward Negroes' registering and voting. Those who opposed were challenged.

The jurors got the point. Thereafter, all indicated they had no objection to Negro registration. Hearing these encouraging words spoken in the very courthouse in which so many had been discouraged previously, Negroes immediately rushed downstairs, put the issue to a test, and many succeeded in registering.

Fearful that the growing Negro voting strength would upset their political applecarts; and, keeping in touch with similar events in adjoining Haywood County, the Fayette County election officials issued the call for the August 1, 1959, biennial primary election, limiting the notice to "all known white Democrats." Subsequently, all qualified Negro electors were turned away and refused voting privileges at the primary.

Their complaints brought prompt response from the Department of

Justice in Washington, D. C., which, on November 16, 1959, filed a suit under the 1957 Civil Rights Act against nineteen officials of the Democratic Party of Fayette County, charging them with having conducted a White Primary election.

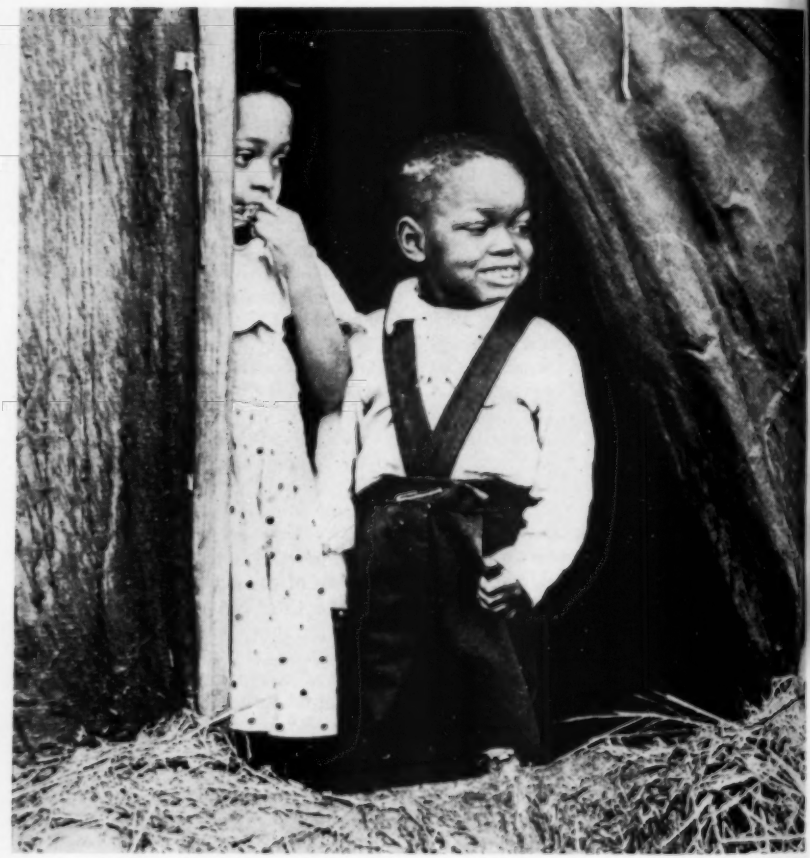
A consent judgment handed down by Federal Judge Marion C. Boyd in Memphis, April 25, 1960, enjoined the defendants from denying the franchise to qualified Negro voters in any future election. Thereafter, in retaliation, the white citizens stepped up economic reprisals and other pressures against the known Negro registered voters and their leaders.

While working in Memphis, John Brooks, NAACP registration and voting director, heard of these reprisals against Negro voters in Haywood and Fayette Counties, and obtained affidavits, which he forwarded to the NAACP's Washington Bureau, which in turn transmitted them to the Justice Department. Recounted in the affidavits were the poignant experiences of John McFerren, a relatively well-to-do grocer; Allen Yancey, another 36-year-old school teacher, who like Currie P. Boyd, was attempting to encourage registration and voting; Rev. June Dowdy, Scott C. Franklin; and several others active in the Fayette County Civic and Welfare League. Their affidavits helped establish the basis for later action by the Justice Department.

McFerren, who has been the most publicized leader in Fayette County, operates a combination grocery store —gasoline-station—restaurant on Old Macon Road at a point called Three Way, one mile south of the Somerville city limits. The local Gulf dealer, Rueben Rhea, refused to supply him with gasoline; other distributors also refused his orders. Other Negroes who were leaders in the Welfare and Civic League complained of denials of bank loans and credit; refusals by gasoline dealers to supply tractors; and refusals of merchants to sell, even for cash, groceries, medicine, clothing; cancellation of liability and fire insurances on homes, automobiles, and farm equipment.

The NAACP telegraphed protests in May to the various oil companies —Gulf, Standard of New Jersey, AMOCO and Texaco—calling upon them to take action to end the boycott aimed at Negro farmers and others in Fayette County by their local distributors. The freeze deepened and, though for the next month pressures were exerted on the national oil companies, there was no lessening of the boycott locally.

At the 1960 NAACP annual convention in June, delegates adopted a resolution calling for withholding of patronage "from any national company found to be cooperating in the present scheme, which has deprived colored filling station operators of gasoline; which has prevented colored farmers from obtaining supplies; and which has revealed a flagrant defiance of law by those who are determined to prevent colored citizens from voting." Many Negroes cancelled their credit cards with the oil companies; branches and youth councils placed picket lines around filling stations in northern cities. On July 6, Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, sent a memorandum to branches calling on members and friends of the Association to support



AP Wirephoto

WATCHING DADDY—*These two unidentified youngsters watch from their tent as their father digs a drainage ditch in the mud outside their "Tent City" home. With a steady rain coming down, the ditch was necessary in order to divert water from the tent. This is one of nine families of evicted tenant farmers living at the newly erected "Tent City" in Haywood and Fayette counties, Tennessee.*

Wide World

THE WILLY TROTTER FAMILY *had to celebrate Christmas eve in their tent in "Tent City."*

its boycott of the oil companies.

In July, because NAACP pressures were becoming effective, Gulf Oil Company sent five top officers to consult with NAACP officials. Conferring with Dr. John A. Morsell, assistant to the executive secretary; Henry Lee Moon, public relations director; and L. Joseph Overton, president New York branch, were David Searls, vice-president and general counsel, Gulf Oil Company; also J. L. Lenker, vice-president in charge of marketing; Dan Kean, special representative, marketing department; Fred Schofield, attorney; and Paul Sheldon, assistant director, public relations. The Gulf representatives promised to find a way to get gasoline to McFerren; to continue to urge their distributor Reuben Rhea in Somerville to sell to Negroes; and reiterated the company's policy "to serve anyone irrespective of race, religion, color or national origin."

A few days after this conference,

surreptitiously, about 1:00 a.m. August 2, McFerren received 12,000 gallons of gasoline, his first delivery in six months. In Memphis, W. C. Patton, of the NAACP staff, confirmed to the press a report that the gasoline came as a result of the NAACP conference with oil officials in New York a few days earlier. Notified of the gasoline delivery, Mr. Wilkins advised branches that the boycott had been lifted.

APPEAL FOR MORE AID

Though McFerren had his gasoline, the economic squeeze on Negroes in both counties was tightened, prompting an urgent appeal on August 10, to NAACP branches and state conferences to send financial aid immediately to the Negroes in care of the Memphis branch. Said Mr. Wilkins:

> The Memphis branch has a truck at its disposal and is equipped not only to make purchase of food and other necessities, but to transport these to Fayette County as needed. The branch, because of its location, is also in a position to properly assess the needs of the people in Fayette County.

Prior to this appeal, the NAACP national office had purchased groceries through a wholesaler in Memphis and distributed, on July 5, bags of groceries to help feed needy families in Somerville. Subsequently, distributions were made throughout the month of January. W. C. Patton, NAACP staff member, was assigned to direct the emergency operations. Jesse Turner, then chairman of the executive committee of the Memphis branch, and cashier of the Tri-State Bank of Memphis, made an on-the-spot investigation for the national office and reported that the credit squeeze was still the root of the difficulty, that many farmers were in heavy debt as a result of failure to obtain credit from regular sources, and that many families were running short of food and supplies and needed assistance.

Several detailed eye-witness accounts of the Fayette-Haywood situation, written by Ted Poston in the *New York Post*, encouraged foodstuffs and money to be sent to the beleaguered farmers. A number of organizations became interested in their plight, including the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE), the National Committee for Rural Schools, under Mrs. Mode Brandstein, which made an appeal for food and clothing to be sent to Somerville. In August, a Chicago group, known as the Emergency Committee for Relief in Fayette County, began collecting food and clothing in the Windy City after learning of the pressures. The Committee sent several shipments to Somerville.

NAACP officials wired the Red Cross for aid, but learned that its assistance was primarily available for disaster areas, and that it is given only at the request and with the cooperation of the local authorities.

The situation grew worse as months passed. A list of Negro voters was passed to the merchants of both counties for boycott purposes. Some Negroes were even forbidden to leave the land. Those seeking to register reported slow-downs at the courthouses in Brownsville and Somerville. Yet, in Fayette County, despite pressures, 440 succeeded in registering the day before the August 4 primary, raising the total eligible

to vote to 700. FBI investigations also helped insure registrations.

NAACP ADVISES WELFARE LEAGUE

Officials of the Fayette Civic and Welfare League were cautioned by NAACP officials against collecting money from those to whom aid was given. They were advised that the $1 contribution asked by the League at the time of distribution could possibly be misconstrued as a charge for free-will packages being sent in by philanthropic individuals and organizations. Although McFerren's group subsequently stopped the practice, in January the Memphis dailies gleefully seized upon an irresponsible charge by a Negro woman, Mrs. Thelma Parker, that aid from the North was being sold over-the-counter by the League.

Mr. McFerren at first declined comment, but later League officials explained that administrative costs — transportation, telephone and c.o.d.'s and other distributive expenses—had been met by asking those recipients who could afford to contribute to help underwrite its work. Although the practice soon ceased, because money raised in the North by McFerren and others was now sufficient to pay the costs of handling the relief, the net result of this publicity was damaging.

Dr. John Morsell told reporters in New York that all of the NAACP's aid had been handled without cost to the recipients and at NAACP expense; that more than $9,000 worth of supplies had been sent to aid the needy by NAACP contributors.

Other avenues of aid were explored by the NAACP's Washington Bureau. Clarence Mitchell, director of the bureau, asked the Department of Agriculture for surplus food commodity assistance, but was informed that distribution of surplus commodities is made by county officials. The Department later told Senator Estes Kefauver that, after an investigation, it had ascertained that there is no urgent need. James W. Hutchens, Jr., director of distribution, said he had visited the area and found that Negroes were receiving food from another source. He used the fact that emergency relief was being sent in from private sources to relieve the government of responsibility.

More than one thousand Negro voters in both Haywood and Fayette Counties marched to the polls on November 8 and voted in the Presidential election. This display of Negro voting power kicked off a new wave of reprisals against them. Currie P. Boyd, president of the Haywood County Civic and Welfare League, told of 75 to 100 families being ordered off farms in that county; while others were given notices to vacate the land when their contracts expired. Landowners in Fayette County were foxier, preferring to wait until harvest time before taking similar action against their Negro tenants.

GOVERNMENT STEPS IN

One of the most heartening things about this beggarly story has been the forthright, thoroughly competent job done by the United States Department of Justice. A review of the legal steps taken to support Negroes in their efforts to vote have brought

into play some of the government's biggest legal guns and most astute attorneys. Operating without precedents under the 1957 Civil Rights Act, the Justice Department attorneys and the FBI kept landowners, merchants, and white community leaders of both counties off-balance by filing law suits supporting the Negroes' right to vote.

Three suits were filed by the Justice Department, two in Haywood County and one in Fayette, accusing merchants, banks, and landowners of coercion and conspiracy to bar Negroes from voting in Tennessee. In one suit, filed on September 13, the Justice Department accused 27 merchants and two banks in Haywood County of conspiring to put economic pressure upon Negroes in the summer of 1959, shortly after the organization of the Haywood County Civic and Welfare League which sought to "encourage and facilitate registration and voting by qualified Negro citizens of Haywood County." The Government charged that the defendants, after Negroes began to register May 16, 1960, intimidated Negroes who were seeking to register, those "believed . . . to be leaders in Negro registration and voting activity . . . others who failed to cooperate with the defendants . . ." The suit accused the defendants of seeking the ouster of Negroes from their jobs, that merchants refused to sell to Negro families, even for cash, refused bank loans, and pressured white merchants into not selling to Negroes by blacklisting them. Wholesalers were told "not to deal with Negro merchants and others sympathetic to registration and voting by Negroes."

The Government amended its Haywood complaint on November 13 to add 34 additional white citizens and two banks. Among those added were the mayor of Brownsville, Thomas Crowder Chapman, Sr., his son, and the county superintendent of schools, Joe Thomas Naylor.

THE FAYETTE SUIT

On December 14, the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department filed suit in Federal Court to halt evictions and economic reprisals against 400 Fayette County Negroes who voted or whose relatives voted in the November 8 election. Named in this action were 82 defendants, half of whom were landowners, about 24 merchants, and one bank. The charges were similar to those filed against Haywood citizens.

These suits were filed under a section of the 1957 Civil Rights Act which states:

> No person, whether acting under color of law or otherwise, shall intimidate, threaten, coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any other person for the purpose of interfering with the right of such other person to vote or to vote as he may choose, or of causing such other person to vote for, or not to vote for, any candidate for the office of president, vice president, presidential elector, member of the Senate, or member of the House of Representatives, delegates or commissioners from the territories or possessions, at any general, special, or primary election held solely or in part for the purpose of selecting or electing any such candidate.

In the hearing on the Haywood suit held before Judge Marion S. Boyd in Memphis, white government witnesses testified that they had been

urged to replace Negroes with "white tenants or white-faced cattle." One surprise witness, Mrs. Sara Lemmons, who runs a clothing store in Stanton, told of being asked to sign a petition refusing credit to Negroes. Her brother-in-law, J. T. Lemmons, also a clothier, was told that the petitions were an attempt to drive Negroes away in order to equalize the Negro-white population balance.

Mrs. Lemmons also testified that, at a mass meeting she had attended, one of the defendants, John ("Preacher") Shelton said, "The white people in Fayette County are just giving them [the Negroes] enough to get by on to stop them from starving to death." Shelton suggested that Haywood farmers fire Negroes and replace them with whites. Another white government witness, Mrs. Katherine Rawlings Davis, 78, of Dancyville, a longtime resident of the area, was labelled "uncooperative" because she would not fire a Negro servant.

Only one white defendant testified, John T. Gillespie, who admitted sending an eviction letter, but only after an allegedly dissatisfied colored farmer, Hallie Powell, had talked about leaving in the fall of 1959. Gillespie denied knowledge of a threatening conversation the tenant had had with a nephew who told Powell he would have to move because he had registered. Other defense witnesses took the Fifth Amendment.

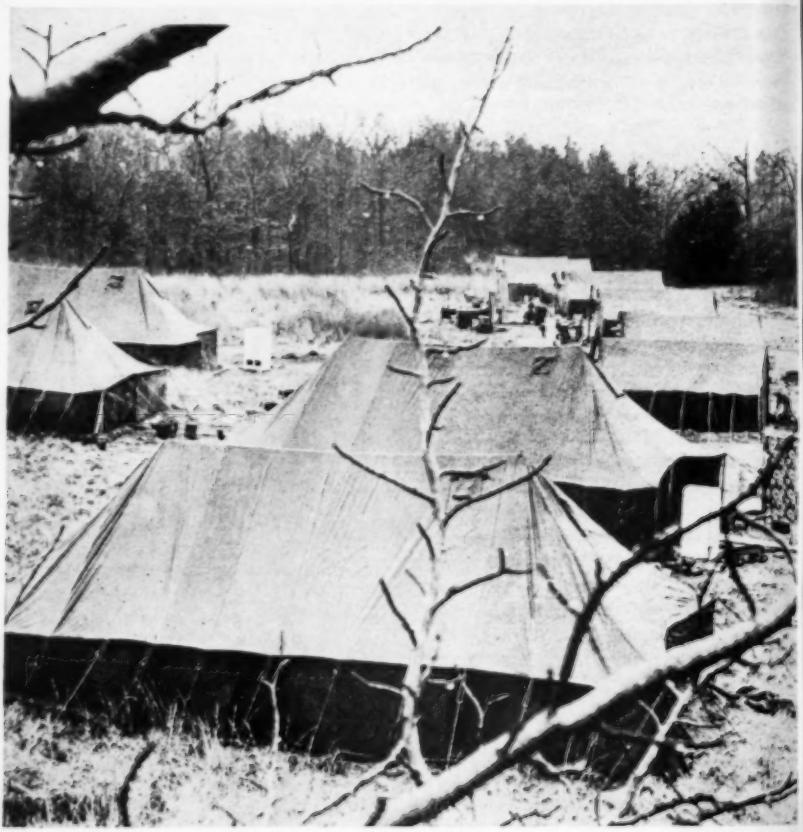
Judge Boyd issued, on December 23, a temporary injunction against twelve Haywood County and one Fayette County white persons preventing them from interfering with the rights of Negroes to register and vote, but denied an injunction to prevent 37 County landowners from evicting the more than 300 Negroes who were under eviction notice to vacate by the end of the year.

GOVERNMENT APPEALS

The Justice Department attorneys appealed Judge Boyd's ruling, refusing to grant an injunction barring Haywood landowners from evicting tenants, to the Court of Appeals, Sixth Circuit, in Cincinnati. Judge Boyd contended he had no authority under the Civil Rights Act to order the renewal or continuance of sharecropping and tenant agreements between Negroes and their white landlords.

On December 30, a three-judge Federal Appeals Court issued an injunction staying the evictions in Haywood County until it could hear the constitutional questions. The court also dismissed the Government's application for a writ of mandamus requiring Judge Boyd to hold a hearing in the Fayette County eviction cases, but suggested that Judge Boyd might reconsider the matter in the light of the court's ruling. The judge did reconsider, telling the landowners in both counties they could not evict without proof such evictions were not attempts to interfere with Negro voting rights. On January 14, he advised the Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati that "there is no proof that the number of non-renewals of sharecropping agreements, or the number of sharecroppers having difficulty in finding new locations, is any greater at the end of 1960 than at the end of any other year in Haywood County."

While the legal chess moves were



Wide World

AN *overall view of "Tent City" where nine Negro families have moved after being evicted from their tenant farms in Fayette county.*

being made in the Federal courts by government attorneys, Negroes in Fayette County, just before Christmas, found it necessary to erect tents to provide emergency shelter for "evicts" not protected by court action. The sight of these 17 army surplus canvass dwellings, 17 x 32 feet, erected along Old Macon Road about a mile from McFerren's grocery store on the property of Sheppard Towles, himself one of the victims of economic reprisals, aroused the sympathy of Americans and peo-

ple all over the world. Crowded into these insanitary dwellings were a total of 109 people, men, women, and children. Two toilets serviced the area, and trenches dug around each tent helped drain off water and moisture.

Two incidents further dramatized the plight of these unfortunates: a shooting during the night in which Early Williams, while inside his tent, was wounded in the arm by a shot from a passing auto, and the birth of an 8-pound baby boy, Jamie Mason, on January 26, to Jamie Lee and Etta B. Mason, parents of seven other children.

While officials of the Fayette County Civic and Welfare League were digging in for the winter, accepting aid from church, civic, labor, and other groups of emergency food and clothing, national organizations were attempting to work out long-range solutions. Two white workers from Church of the Brethren in Maryland — David Flora of Westminister, and Don Bixler of New Windson—began constructing floors for the tents. New York Radio Station WMCA collected six van loads of food and clothing in the New York area, trucked the goods overland, and divided the shipment on January 19 equally between the two counties.

The NAACP called a meeting in New York on January 11 at which were present representatives of CORE, American Friends Service

COORDINATING TENNESSEE RELIEF—*Twelve national organizations are now working jointly to relieve oppressed Negroes in Haywood and Fayette counties, Tennessee. NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins (behind desk) issued a call for unity. Some of the participants in the first coordinating session, held in NAACP national office, New York City, are (from L) Marvin Rich, CORE; Allan Yancy, vice-president Fayette County Civic and Welfare League; John Brooks, NAACP voter registration director; Jesse Turner, president Memphis branch; Gloster Current, NAACP director of branches; and Jean Fairfax, American Friends Service Committee.*

Committee, National Sharecroppers League, National Committee for Rural Schools, along with NAACP presidents Allen Yancey, president of the newly organized Somerville branch, and Jesse Turner, president of the Memphis branch; John Brooks, NAACP registration and voting director, as well as members of the national staff such as Roy Wilkins, John Morsell and others. It was agreed that a long-range solution, including relocation of the displaced, was called for as well as coordination of the efforts of the participating organizations.

The NAACP assigned field secretary Phillip H. Savage to work in the area and to survey the needs of families under eviction notice, especially those who would be affected in the event of an adverse Federal Court ruling after the February 20 hearing.

SAVAGE ARRESTED

While making the survey, Savage was arrested in the Brownsville courthouse on January 26 by Deputy Sheriff George Sullivan, who accused him of interfering with Negro registrants. Savage was in the courthouse watching Negroes register. He was held overnight and not permitted to get in touch with NAACP officials or counsel. On the next day, he was tried and convicted of threatened breach of the peace, and fined $50.00. Two other charges were dropped.

The NAACP appealed his case to the Circuit Court where, on February 8, in a hearing before Judge John F. Kizer, he was found not guilty and released. [See "Battlefront, page 168.]

A confused and difficult situation still exists in the two counties. The publicity given the plight of these unfortunates has opened the hearts of Americans, who have flooded the area with food, old and new clothing and financial assistance. Despite the aid, which continues to be given, there are the hard, cold facts that local economic conditions are changing, farmers need greater government support, agricultural methods are changing, and there is a grave question whether the land can and will continue support of such a large farm population. This transition was already taking place before the Negroes tried to vote, and it has been accelerated, undoubtedly, by the Negroes demand for firstclass citizenship.

The whites claim that the tents, the Leagues, the appeals for aid are all publicity stunts; that legitimate job offers from elsewhere are being turned down. The Negroes, having won the right to vote, now have faith; they want to remain in the area; they say that, given a little more aid, they can get through the winter; and the landowners will need their labor again.

A heroic job has been done by the community leaders of both counties, and through outside relief the emergency has been met. In Haywood a solution has been found to the evictions and the "evicts" have been relocated in the county. The Haywood Negroes are better organized and they have expert leadership. They have organized a cooperative grocery, are building a $150,000 First Baptist Church, and they have an insurance company which is able to help finance them.

The Negroes in Fayette on the other hand are not as well led: in fact they are now suffering from the problems of divided leadership. John McFerren, gadfly, popular strategist, peppery chairman of the Civic and Welfare League, on the one hand; and Scott O. Franklin, League President, along with Attorney J. F. Estes, who helped them all get started, on the other, are fighting among themselves.

Roving reporter Tressant W. Anderson of the *Pittsburgh Courier* gives the savor of the sharecroppers' predicament caught up, as they are, between these warring factions. He describes it in the February 11, 1961, issue of his paper as "a tragic situation . . . as fouled up a mess as the Congo," and suggests that the warring factions get together.

President John F. Kennedy, speaking to the country in his State of the Union address, on January 30, spoke of the disturbing aspects of the nation's economy and the fact that "nearly one-eighth of those who are without jobs live almost without hope in nearly 100 specially depressed and troubled areas."

In spite of the deprivation and fish-bowl living in "Freedom Village," where newsmen, inquiring students, government investigators, representatives of religious and private agencies, and the hastily organized *ad hoc* groups come daily to offer help, these families are not without hope. Their hope springs from the timely succor sent from northern cities. Their optimism is derived from the knowledge that even far-off Washington, D.C., cares enough to send unbiased government lawyers who have challenged the southern *mores* and temporarily stayed evictions from the land, shattered the contention of the whites that changing economic conditions, declining farm income and increasing mechanization have necessitated eviction of the Negroes.

Their hope springs also from the combined efforts of national organizations — NAACP, Urban League, National Council of Churches, Sharecroppers Fund, American Friends Service Committee, CORE, National Baptist Convention, AFL-CIO, and others—which have been seeking to find a way out of the morass. Their hope also springs from expectation of help from the U.S. Department of Agriculture. An announcement in *The New York Times* (February 14, 1961) that Secretary of Agriculture, Orville L. Freeman and the Administration are considering increasing cotton-support prices also offers hope to Negro and white farmers alike. Congressional sources are anticipating a support level of 2 cents a pound above last year's average market price. Secretary Freeman also has announced that $35,000,000 more has been made available for farm operating loans. Such loans may be used to pay for equipment, livestock, feed, fertilizer, tractor fuel and other needs, or to finance chattle debts.

Now, if the Administration will only take steps to insure that this program is administered through banks and government agencies without discrimination, and that, especially, in areas such as Haywood and Fayette counties, Negroes get a fair share of these allotments, and that the benefits trickle down to the

Negro landowners as well as to the whites, there may yet be rejoicing in embattled southwestern Tennessee.

What of the future? Hard choices will have to be made on both sides, for neither white nor black stands to gain by the present impasse. All committed groups and individuals, as well as the federal government, must continue to work together with patience, understanding, firmness, and brotherly love. Above all there must be a re-establishment of communication between the black and white segments of these communities. The interrelationships are such that neither group can live and prosper without the other.

ALDERMAN JOINS UP—*Alderman Benjamin F. Lewis (D, 24th District) of Chicago, Illinois, presents a $500 check to Mrs. Mattie Kelly Moore, assistant secretary of the Chicago branch, for his NAACP life membership. Others in the picture are (from L) Atty. Chester L. Blair and Anne Askew, a nurse at the Cook County Hospital.*

■ An article-review of a book which, despite some sound interpretations, is also full of dubious conclusions

Another Look at Negro Politics

By John A. Morsell

THE virtues of *Negro Politics*[1] are those which can be expected when a perceptive and sympathetic investigator studies with great care and in considerable depth controversial phenomena of a high order of complexity. Accordingly, in those portions of the book which benefited from such care and depth, there are numerous virtues.

The core of *Negro Politics* is an investigation of factors affecting civic and political leadership among Negroes in Chicago over the past five or ten years. This is familiar terrain for the author, and he has made generally good use of the informational contacts he was able to develop in the Negro community. *Negro Politics* is at its best when it is describing and interpreting the course and conduct of a number of issues which involved the Negro community, its leaders and its organizations; when it reports on conflicts of goals and methods, especially those arising between politicians and non-politicians; and when it discusses some of the other natural sources of cleavage which have frequently prevented the Chicago Negro community from realizing the potential which might be anticipated in view of its size and resources.

The book's failings derive in part from a number of instances in which insufficient data and inadequate background seriously impair the worth of the conclusions reached. "Snap judgments" is probably too strong a term to apply to some of these conclusions, but the net effect is not too different. It also suffers from the academic compulsion to relate findings to theory, either existent or newly-coined. The relentless search for theoretical implications is not always explicit: it manifests itself also in a detached and mechanistic rhetoric which often manages to ob-

[1] Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership. By James Q. Wilson. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960. X + 342 pp. $5.00.

DR. JOHN A. MORSELL *is assistant to the executive secretary of the NAACP.*

scure the reality it seeks to illumine.

A recurrent theme, for example, is the mechanistic relationship imputed to voluntary civic associations and the issues which engage them. Thus, "Voluntary association tactics involve publicity, *branding issues with the race label,* [Italics mine] and various forms of lobbying and persuasion. The association thrives on issues; issues are its life blood." And, again, "Voluntary associations endeavor to expand, or appear to expand, in order to continue to distribute the incentives that keep their supporters and members interested. These organizations seek new issues as a means of implementing their ideals, gaining allies, and justifying their budgets."

To those who are intimately involved in the work of many of the organizations which Wilson has in mind (NAACP, Urban League, and others) but who lack the requisite degree of sophistication, the implication will be clear that their activities rest upon a contrived foundation; that organizational aggrandizement is the prime goal, and that this is achieved through the manufacture and manipulation of issues where no valid basis for them exists. I prefer to believe that Wilson does not really mean this. I think that he is as thoroughly aware as any of us of the magnitude and diversity of racial discrimination in all parts of the United States today and of what it will take to eliminate it. No organization dedicated to this purpose needs to "create" its issues: they are already there in all their formidable array, and the organization's problem is one of proper selection in terms of its resources and the dictates of its strategy.

The author is on firmer ground as he analyzes changes in the nature of Negro civic leadership, with emphasis on the declining role of the Negro ministry relative to other leadership sources; on the emergence of larger numbers of organization professionals, who, if not accorded leadership status by the masses of their people, nevertheless perform increasingly essential leadership functions; and on the difficulties encountered by all leaders, whatever their origin, in ascertaining the wishes of the rank-and-file and in adapting those wishes in ways likely to enhance rather than impede the attainment of goals.

With w e l l - t a k e n reservations (which, however, like such reservations everywhere, tend to be lost as the discussion unfolds), Wilson distinguishes between "militants" and "moderates" in the leadership, and between "status" and "welfare" objectives, which tend to be their respective preoccupations. (The divergence between those who will settle for badly needed new ghetto housing—a "welfare" goal—and those who insist upon the fight for open occupancy—a "status" goal—is an illustration.) It is not clear how much this typology adds to an understanding of just what goes on in the various sectors of the battle for racial equality; there are some who would rather express the unquestionable differences in leadership style in terms of levels of competence in gauging and implementing strategies for the long and the short run.

The factual foundation for the

conclusions of *Negro Politics* and for its terminal essay at a theoretical model of leadership evolution consists, as noted before, chiefly of Chicago data. The information on comparable developments in New York City, Boston, Detroit, and Los Angeles is presented with due apologies for its sketchiness, but remains a source of weakness in the overall presentation. There is no quarrel with many of the broad and general contrasts which Wilson finds exist in the political structures, organizational characteristics and other circumstantial attributes of all these cities and between them and Chicago. They are not offered as new information and they do not serve either to support or to refute the Chicago intepretations.

There is, however, a quarrel to be picked with much of Wilson's copious reference to the NAACP. So far as the recent history of the Chicago branch is concerned, there would probably be disagreement only on specific details, although it is not always immediately clear whether it is the branch or the national organization that is being discussed. In common with a number of recent writers on this theme, Wilson approaches the NAACP with a curious foreshortening of perspective, in which nothing much seems to have happened prior to the last ten or twenty years. That the NAACP has had a vigorous, effective and historic record of activity for more than fifty years seems to be entirely unknown.

A few illustrative quotations will indicate what I mean. Noting that the NAACP "has come to have a virtual monopoly of national Negro protest activity," Wilson observes: "This has not always been the case. In earlier years, the NAACP was compelled to share its prestige with other, similar organizations, such as the March on Washington Movement. . . . The enhanced prestige of the organization seems to be a direct result of its role in the 1954 school desegregation of the United States Supreme Court. . . . *The legal approach of the association was seen to have some merit.*" [Italics mine.]

The striking down of the Grandfather Clause voting restriction in 1915; the long line of cases which re-defined the entire concept of due process in criminal trials; the ending of the exclusive White Primary; the withdrawal of racial restrictive covenants from state enforcement; the elimination of jim crow from interstate rail travel; the consecutive victories in higher education which ended legal barriers to Negro admission to state-supported colleges and universities; and a host of others might seem to have fairly well established the merit of the NAACP's legal approach some years prior to 1954. And this merit was recognized in the steadily expanding support of the NAACP in the Negro community well before *Brown v. Topeka.*

The NAACP's pre-eminence in its field had been forged in its twenty-year successful fight against lynchings, which were taking place at the rate of more than 100 a year when the Association was founded. It had been tempered with the successful fight to block Senate approval of the Parker nomination to the U. S.

Supreme Court in 1930. It had been kept vigorous with the NAACP's unending fight for equal opportunity for Negroes in the armed forces and for an end to segregated military service, resulting in more than 50,000 members among Negro servicemen at the end of World War II.

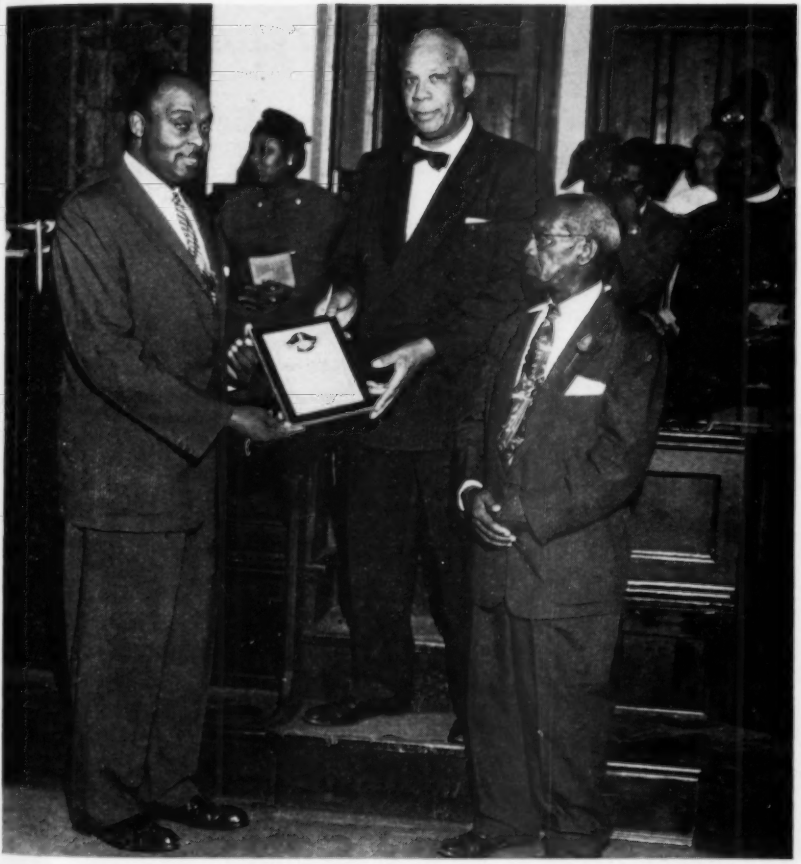
The cooperative and collaborative activity of other Negro organizations with the same goals has been a recurrent feature of this history, and in view of the size of the task to be performed, is better regarded as asset than as challenge. (When the March on Washington Movement was organized, the NAACP was already more than thirty years old, with a good deal of the record just outlined already behind it. Surely, these could more realistically be termed the "earlier years.")

A second and equally serious error is contained in Wilson's comments on the function of NAACP branches and their relationship with the national organization. There is little apparent knowledge, and even less comprehension, of the extent to which branches have pursued local activities designed to safeguard and extend the civil rights of Negroes within the very broad grants of authority and purpose contained in their charters. To accept and reiterate the equally uninformed characterization of NAACP branches by Philip Selznick and Paul Jacobs as "dues collecting stations" for the national headquarters simply helps to enshrine a perversion of the facts.

Admittedly, not all branches maintain the effective programs of local community action and education which are their reponsibility. But far more do than do not, and no generalization can be made regarding them without a thorough study of a representative number of them.

It is equally erroneous to speak of the "initially heavy white" membership which NAACP branches have "lost." This is just not so. Branches which began with large and/or influential white memberships are the exception, not the rule. If anything, the trend to active white participation and leadership (other than honorary or honorific) is a fairly recent development among branches as a whole.

Factual and interpretative failings such as these have greatly marred a work which would, it seems to me, have been thoroughly acceptable if confined to the smaller compass justified by the really praiseworthy research done on the Chicago scene. A fruitless word of criticism may also be directed at book-publishing imperatives of the sort which once caused a Kinsey investigation based on samples and parts of samples of North American men to be entitled "Sexual Behavior in the Human Male." A title genuinely descriptive of Kinsey's materials would have struck his publisher as quite unthinkable. Similarly, "Some Observations on Aspects of Negro Politics and Civic Leadership in Chicago" would scarcely serve the purpose as comfortably as the all-inclusive *Negro Politics*.



Nottingham

A FIRST—*Mt. Zion Baptist Church is the first church in Winston-Salem, N. C., to subscribe to an NAACP life membership. Charles A. McLean, N. C. field secretary, presents the NAACP membership plaque to Leslie McClennon (L), church treasurer, and Robert Smith, member church finance committee. Rev. Kelly O. P. Goodwin is the church's pastor.*

Looking and Listening . . .

MISSISSIPPI MINISTERS OF "POPULAR ENLIGHTMENT AND PROPAGANDA"

ON January 11, 1961, two ministers of "popular enlightment and propaganda" from the sovereign state of Mississippi stood before a New York University classroom to tell of the wonders of racial segregation in the state of Mississippi. These spokesmen, who delivered "The Message from Mississippi," were Earle Johnston, Jr., public relations director of the Mississippi State Soverignty Commission, and Chancery Judge Robert P. Sugg.

If you are curious about Mississippi here is some information which these two speakers did not give their audience. To save time, we shall deal with only three institutions of American life as practiced and "interpreted" in Mississippi. They are justice, voting, and education.

NEGRO JUSTICE vs. WHITE JUSTICE

Justice is *not* color-blind in Mississippi. For example:

CASE "A" (White Man Rapes Negro Girl): In May, 1957, a seventeen-year-old Negro baby sitter for a white family in Pascagoula, Miss., was raped by her employer. Her attacker was a young lawyer, the son of a prominent family. He went free on $2,000 bond; five month later was given a suspended sentence of five years; and was placed on probation for five years.

CASE "B" (Negro Boy Whistles at White Woman): In August, 1955, Emmett Till, a 14-year-old boy visiting relatives in Money, Miss., was snatched from unguarded sleep in the pitch black of night by grown, able-bodied men. Days later, his body was found, weighted, in the Tallahatchie River. All this because he allegedly *whistled* at a white woman.

Emmett Till's murder was not an isolated tragedy, unfortunately. In December, 1955, in Glendora, Miss., Clinton Melton, filling station attendant, mistakenly filled up the gas tank of a car driven by Elmer Kimbell, white, who wanted only $2.00 worth. Infuriated, Kimbell threatened Melton, then went home, got a gun, returned and killed Melton, father of five, on the spot. Melton was unarmed. White and Negro witnesses were present.

The all-white jury "deliberated" four hours and found Kimbel "not guilty."

White "Contempt" and Negro "Contempt." Ever since the 1954 U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated public schools, numerous

UPI Photo

NEW MANHATTAN BOROUGH PRESIDENT—*Domestic Relations Court Justice Edward R. Dudley (L), onetime NAACP attorney, is sworn in by Mayor Robert Wagner at City Hall on January 31.*

white citizens and newspapers in Mississippi have voiced vitriolic criticism of the nation's highest court and its decision. In a speech at Senatobia, Miss., August 12, 1955, Mississippi's U. S. Senator James O. Eastland declared: "You are not required to obey any court which passes out such a ruling. In fact, you are obligated to defy it." Editorially the Yazoo City *Herald* in early September, 1955, referred to the Supreme Court as "the nine ninnies." A Mississippi Congressman called the Supreme Court ruling "treason.' None of these was cited for contempt of court.

But when Medgar Evers, NAACP field secretary for Mississippi, asserted in 1960 that a seven-year sentence given a Mississippi Negro for alleged involvement in a theft of $25 in chicken feed was "a mockery of judicial justice," he was fined $100 and sentenced to 30 days in jail for contempt of the Mississippi courts.

DENIAL OF THE VOTE

Although 45 per cent of Mississippi's populace is colored and 497,354 of these are of voting age, only 22,000 (3.89%) were allowed to register for the 1954 elections. This is the lowest percentage of Negro registrants in the entire South.

Why?

Because Mississippi has used everything from trickery to murder to prevent Negroes from registering and voting.

On May 7, 1955, Rev. George Lee was shot to death in Belzoni, Miss., because he refused to remove his name from the voter list.

On August 13, 1955, Lamar Smith was shot down in bright and broad daylight on the lawn of the courthouse in Brookhaven, Miss., for alleged "political activity." Although the courthouse was fiilled with the usual Saturday afternoon "loungers," and the Sheriff saw (with his own eyes) a white man leaving the scene of the murder "with blood all over him," no one could be found who would admit that he saw the killing. No one was punished.

Mississippi Instruction No. 20 to applicants is to "write . . . a statement setting forth your understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a constitutional form of government"; that is, writing an explanation which would be satisfactory to the white registration officials.

In one county Negroes were asked what kind of government we live under. Answered one, "A democratic form of government." That was declared unsatisfactory. Then he answered "A republican form of government." That was declared unsatisfactory. The voter was ruled out.

Thirteen Mississippi counties have *no* Negro voters, including Tallahatchie county, where Emmett Till's body was found in the river; and Pearl River county, scene of the April, 1959, lynching of Negro truck driver Mack Charles Parker.

Nine counties have ten or less Negro registrants. Typical of this group is Desoto county with 16,499 Negroes and one registrant.

Of the 22,000 Negroes reported registered in 1954, 14,000 were lopped off in 1955 under a new state law requiring re-registration. That was the year when two Negroes were slain over voter registration and one shot and wounded for the same reason. Former Mississippi Governor J. P. Coleman has estimated that not more than 7,000 Negroes voted in Mississippi in 1955—out of 497,354 of voting age.

EDUCATION: SEPARATE, UNEQUAL, UNHAPPY, AND UNFAIR

The record shows that white Mississippians have no intention of giving a Negro child his constitutional right to an unsegregated education.

Since 1954, Mississippi has engaged in a continuous campaign of intimidation, threats and reprisals in connection with the broad question of eliminating segregation, especially segregated schools.

UPI Photo

LISTEN TO CONGRATULATIONS—*With the Lincoln School in the background, the Rev. M. Dewitt Bullock (R), pastor of the Union Baptist Church and president of the New Rochelle NAACP branch, reads a congratulatory telegram to five New Rochelle women following the ruling of federal Judge Irving Kaufman which ordered desegregation of the Lincoln School, currently 94 percent Negro. The women are (from L) Mesdames Lester Williams, Walter Murphy, Wilbert Taylor, Rudolph Williams, and Albertha Brewton.*

Negro citizens who signed petitions to their school boards asking that a plan be adopted for desegregating the schools have been fired from their jobs and driven from town.

In Yazoo City, Miss., on August 25, 1955, the names of all Negro signers of a petition were printed in a full-page advertisement in the Yazoo City *Herald* bought by the White Citizens Council. Of the 53 signers, 51 lost their jobs and businesses. One man who had been a plumber there for twenty years had to leave and go to Detroit in order to make a living.

During the school year 1956-57, Mississippi spent $187.33 educating each white child and only $107.34 for each Negro pupil. Mississippi also

spent $1.31 per white pupil on school library facilities and only 73¢ per Negro pupil during the same period.

Figures show that in the school year 1952-53, Mississippi spent *one-third* as much per capita on Negro children as was spent on white children. This was the year prior to the Supreme Court ruling outlawing segregated public schools.

No school desegregation has taken place in Mississippi on any level, not because Negroes are satisfied, but because they are afraid for their jobs, homes, children and lives.

The brief citations above constitute only part of the Mississippi story *not* told by spokesmen for segregation.

Instead of the one or two examples given, hundreds could be cited. Instead of the three categories used, dozens could be listed.

Segregation in Mississippi has deadened and withered not only Negro life, but white life as well. Many white Mississippians, especially those in power or who hope to come to power, are happy with segregation because it gives them a political and economic advantage, to say nothing of the false (but comforting) sense of superior status.

There are other white Mississippians, however, (as there are white Southerners all across the South) who realize that racial segregation must be ended, that it hurts both whites and Negroes and limits the progress the South can make as a region.

Thoughtful people of the North and the South can help by discussing how change can be brought about instead of by urging a stand-pat position on a system that by every statistic has been proved to have been evil in its every aspect.

Those sent forth into the North to tell of the wonders of racial segregation represent the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission. It was created by state law to preserve racial segregation; to discourage Negroes from seeking equal rights; to put pressure on whites who seem "soft" on segregation; and to spread propaganda to northern states on the "advantages" of racial discrmination.

This Commission received $250,000 out of the state treasury as its first appropriation. The money came from Mississippi taxpayers, white and Negro. (Negroes represent 45 per cent of the state's population).

Four Mississippi citizens (three white, one colored) have filed suit in federal court against the Commission. They seek an injunction to stop the Commission's practice of turning over public funds to the White Citizens Councils, as has been the practice—a $20,000 first payment and other payments of $5,000 during 1960. The plaintiffs charge that the Fourteenth Amendment has been violated because the payments were made from "funds derived from plaintiffs by taxation" and used "for the purpose of subverting and opposing the law of the land" against racial discrimination.

Hickman

BRANCH OFFICERS *of the St. Paul, Minn., branch are (from L) Mrs. Allie Mae Hampton, president; Mrs. Jane Preston, first vice-president; Mrs. Earline Estes, secretary; Mrs. Constance Freeman, assistant secretary; and Robert M. Patterson, treasurer. Bradford Brenner, second vice-president, is not pictured.*

MEMO

MARCH 1961

from the desk of the Executive Secretary

Tip-off on civil rights legislation plans of Kennedy Administration was given by burial in January of resolution to change Senate Rule 22 by referring it to Senate Rules Committee.

If Kennedy leaders in Congress had any serious intention of passing civil rights bill in the 87th Congress they could have won rules fight. They know any civil rights bill worth its salt will not have a chance in Senate unless Rule 22 is changed.

Vote was closest in years, 50-46. Democratic Leader Senator Mike Mansfield and Republican Leader Senator Everett Dirksen teamed up to send resolution to Committee, but despite this united leadership, only two more votes would have made it 48-48 and Vice-President Nixon would have broken tie to keep resolution before Senate.

If the Republicans had done their duty and if the Kennedy Administration had done its duty, the two votes could have been secured.

Now, any bill will face a filibuster that can be broken only by a two-thirds vote. In fact, if the Senate Rules Committee reports out any plan to change Rule 22, that plan will face a filibuster.

Thus, in the Senate, Kennedy forces, aided by the GOP, have locked up civil rights legislation.

Pressure was turned on in House Rules fight, but final tight victory there providing for enlargement of House Rules Committee may benefit liberal economic and health legislation, but not civil rights.

No strong civil rights fighters are included in additions to House Rules Committee (except, possibly Rep. Sisk, D-Calif.) and he announced at once his opposition to legislation. Other new members weak or

hostile on civil rights: Rep. Elliott (D-Ala.), Rep. St. George (R-N.Y.), Rep. Smith (R-Calif.), Rep. Hoffman (R-Ill.).

With door closed as far as legislation is concerned (a weak bill or a non-controversial item may get by later), Kennedy forces will have to do something to try to make up to Negro voters who gave such fat support in hair-line victory last November.

Much talk of executive action fills the Washington air, but so far (Feb. 20) it is only talk.

Kennedy followers beg for time for JFK, saying he needs to get economic recovery, health, and certain foreign policy matters through Congress without risking added hatchet work from civil rights opponents.

This old, old story is getting cool reception from most Negro observers who have heard it from many Presidents and many Congresses. "No time" seems to be the "right time" to take up civil rights.

Sweeping executive order cutting across all government acts affecting Negro citizens, banning all discrimination in all categories of the Federal establishment and in Federal relations with the states, and setting up machinery for enforcement, would help quiet uneasiness among Negro citizens.

Such an order should rest upon the Federal policy of non-segregation. No Federal funds, for example, should go to any state which has refused to desegregate its public education. In fact, in accordance with resolutions adopted at NAACP annual conventions, no Federal funds should be used to underwrite racial segregation and discrimination in the states in any area of activity.

Courageous Robert C. Weaver appointment was shot in arm, but this and other appointments, no matter how extraordinary, cannot substitute for basic Federal action to protect civil rights of entire population.

Meanwhile, register-to-vote campaigns build up strength to win political arguments. NAACP Director John Brooks, from his Richmond office, and Field Secretary W. C. Patton, from his Memphis operating point, report a good registration and poll tax campaign in Texas, ending at the deadline of January 31. This campaign began right after the November 8 election.

Also, in Mississippi, believe it or not, NAACP branches are conducting successful registration campaigns, with door-to-door work in Jackson and groups at work in Gulf Coast cities, and even in the Delta region.

Northern NAACP branches are working on registration in advance of state and local elections, and looking forward to 1962 Congressional election.

Politicians pay more attention to registration figures than they do to petitions.

Negro citizens can talk loud in a soft voice if they will increase registration by only 20 percent. The NAACP campaign with a permanent staff, begun in 1957, will continue through the 1964 election.

The fight for freedom is "hot" on all fronts: schools, lunch counter sit-ins, employment picketing, theatre segregation, housing laws in state legislatures, police brutality, court tests on freedom of association, Africa . . .

Build a stronger NAACP for the drive to victory. Branches should gather in their biggest membership in history this Spring and report it to the 52nd annual NAACP convention July 10-16 in Philadelphia.

—R.W.

PLAN NOW TO ATTEND the 52nd ANNUAL

NAACP CONVENTION

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

MONDAY, JULY 10 to SUNDAY, JULY 16

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

NAACP ON UN MELEE

IT is natural that American Negroes should protest the Congo developments which led to the murder of Patrice Lumumba, declared Roy Wilkins in February. But the demonstrations at the United Nations on February 15 do not "represent either the sentiment or the tactices of American Negroes," he added.

The press "labeling of the disturbance as activity of 'U.S. Negroes' has created a misleading picture of the position of American Negro citizens," he declared. The truth, he asserted, is that too many of our citizens and public officials have failed to appreciate the deep and warm feeling American Negroes have toward the efforts of Africans to achieve freedom from colonialism.

"This emotion," Mr. Wilkins declared, "is heightened as they note the discriminations and inequalities they themselves continue to suffer 98 years after the Emancipation Proclamation."

The result is that American Negroes tend to identify themselves with the Africans, who are struggling against the withholding of freedom and human dignity by white people, who "except for language, could be Mississippians or Alabamians or South Carolinians," he said.

Therefore, while American Negroes may be no more clear on many aspects of the Congo situation than their white fellow citizens, they are clear in their belief that "their country should help the Congolese people

USHERS JOIN UP—*The Church Ushers Association of Brooklyn and Long Island, N. Y., are shown with their NAACP life membership plaque. Pictured in center (fifth from L) are Rev. George Lawrence, pastor Antioch Baptist Church, Brooklyn; Atty. Risley Dent, Brooklyn branch president who presented plaque; Henry Ballard (holding plaque), president CUABL; and Mrs. Hattie Atkinson, committee chairman.*

Gill Photographers

NEW OFFICERS *and board members of the Cincinnati, Ohio, branch. First row (from L): Carl Hicks, second vice-president; Rev. J. W. Henderson, first vice-president; Mrs. Martha Holt, secretary; William Bowen, president; Serena Davis, state lobbyist; (2nd row) Mrs. Lucille Green, Dr. Bruce H. Green, Jr., treasurer, Jean Timberlake, assistant secretary; Mrs. Callie Parrish; (3rd row) Lambert Sloan, Vernell Walker, treasurer youth chapter; Atty. Joseph Johnson, chairman legal redress committee; John Warfield; (4th row) Garnell Rosemond, president youth chapter; Wm. Hansen, C. E. Nowell, Charles Ross, Warner Jackson, Wm. Mason, chairman press and publicity committee; and Atty Webster Posey. Thirteen of the officers and board members are not pictured.*

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to self-sustaining independence and that Belgian colonizers should not be replaced with Soviet Union colonizers."

Further, they do not wish, Mr. Wilkins said, "for this country to do anything to facilitate control of the Congo by any European nation, or by any African nation or faction acting in behalf of a European power."

DR. WEAVER RESIGNS

THE national board of directors of the NAACP has accepted "with regret" the resignation of its chairman, Dr. Robert C. Weaver. Dr. Weaver resigned as head of the Association's 48-member board on February 10, a day before he took the oath of office as Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency which directs the federal government's mammoth housing program.

In a letter to Arthur Spingarn, NAACP president, which was read to the Board of Directors at its February 14 meeting, Dr. Weaver said:

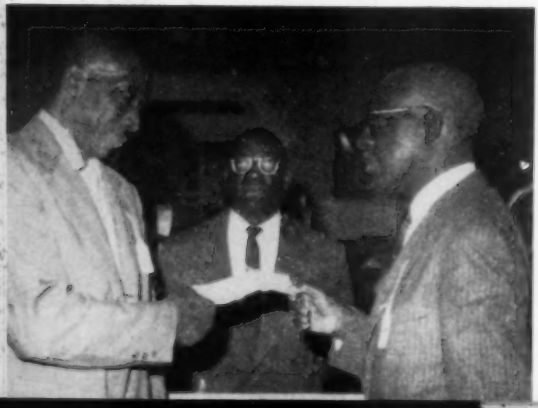
"I need not tell you what a privilege it has been for me to serve as Chairman of the Board. I do appreciate the many courtesies which you and

WELL-KNOWN *Syracuse, N. Y., businessman, B. G. Rudolph, became the first NAACP life-subscribing member of the Syracuse branch upon presentation of his check to Mrs. Willie Jones, membership chairman. Rev. Russell Williams, branch president, stands at left.*

Mobile Photo Service

Judge Saul Berman, West Hartford, Conn., presents NAACP life membership plaque to Rev. John Shaw (L), pastor Bethesda Apostolic Church, New Britain. Charles Morehead (R) also receives his membership plaque.

Suffolk - Nasemond, Va., branch membership committee and branch workers.



Charlie Jones (L), retiring president Rocky Mount, N. C., branch receives $77 check from J. B. Harren, branch secretary and charter member. Mr. Jones served the branch for ten years.

the other members of the Board have extended to me and I cherish the cooperation of the staff.

"I am confident that the work of the Association, vital as it is to the preservation and strengthening of democracy, will be accelerated in the years to come."

The January meeting of the NAACP Board voted to fill the vacancy caused by Dr. Weaver's anticipated resignation at the next major policy meeting of the Board in April.

Dr. Weaver was designated U.S. housing chief by President John F. Kennedy and he took the oath of office during a White House ceremony attended by the President on February 11.

A Harvard-trained economist, Dr. Weaver was formerly one of the three members of New York City's Housing and Redevelopment Board.

[*House and Home,* New York City, devotes three pages to an understanding and sympathetic appraisal of Dr. Weaver as man and housing expert. Under the general title "Housing Policy," the magazine describes "Kennedy's Most Controversial Appointment," pp. 40-43. Ed.]

NAACP vs. STATE OF ALABAMA

IN its latest move to secure return of the NAACP to action in the State of Alabama, Robert L. Carter argued in New Orleans, La., on January 17, in the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, that the NAACP will "never be permitted to function in Alabama" unless the federal courts take jurisdiction over a 1956 temporary injunction action now frozen by the state in its courts.

Mr. Carter, NAACP general counsel, said that Alabama is "denying NAACP members their civil and constitutional rights."

He added that federal court action is needed if Negroes are to "enjoy freedom of speech and association and access to the state's courts."

The NAACP was banned from Alabama in 1956, without notice or opportunity to be heard. Alabama enjoined all Association activities, charging it had failed to register as a "foreign corporation."

Subsequently, the NAACP was found in contempt and fined $100,000 for refusing to hand over membership lists. This move would have exposed Negro citizens to the naked violence often documentd in Alabama current events. The U.S. Supreme Court voided the Alabama contempt ruling in 1958; threw out the $100,000 fine; and upheld the Association's right not to reveal its membership lists. However, the Supreme Court did not say whether the injunction against the NAACP was valid. The Alabama high court held the U.S. Supreme Court mandate for six months before it elected to reaffirm its old contempt citation.

Alabama said this time that the NAACP was in contempt for reasons other than refusing to hand over membership lists. The NAACP returned the case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court again struck down Alabama in June of 1959.

The case again rested in the hands of the Alabama high court, which again elected to do nothing.

The NAACP filed several motions requesting the Alabama Supreme Court to send the mandate to the Circuit Court of Montgomery County so the validity of the injunction against NAACP activities could be tested.

Again the Alabama Supreme Court did nothing and advised the NAACP to file "no further motions on the matter."

A temporary injunction has been outstanding against the NAACP for four years and the Association has been unable to test its validity.

After waiting until June, 1960, the NAACP filed a complaint in federal court "seeking to enjoin state officials from refusing to permit the Association to register as a foreign corporation."

This phase of the case was argued last July and the district court admitted that it had jurisdiction, but concluded that it was not proper to act since the matter was in the state court.

The NAACP then appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals of the Fifth Circuit.

SIT-IN LEADERS JOIN NAACP STAFF

THE Association added two sit-in protest leaders to its full-time field staff in January. Julie A. Wright, summa cum laude graduate of Claflin College, Orangeburg, S. C., was one of the two leaders of the famed March 15, 1959, demonstration in Orangeburg.

Two columns of students, totaling 1,500, staged an orderly march into town where a protest ceremony was slated to be held in the local square.

Police attacked the students, armed with Bibles and signboards, using tear gas and high pressure fire hoses. A record 338 soaking students were arrested and forced to shiver in the cold spring air in an outdoor stockade.

Miss Wright will work with Herbert L. Wright, the Association's youth secretary, and will be based in the Atlanta regional office of the NAACP.

Phillip H. Savage, of Baltimore, Md., has been named field secretary at large and will conduct NAACP membership campaigns in major cities.

He was chairman of the Civic Interest Group that was responsible for breaking down segregated eating facilities in four major department stores and more than 100 restaurants in Baltimore.

A graduate of Morgan State College, Mr. Savage has worked as an organizer in the Association's register to vote drive in Baltimore. He also conducted an NAACP membership drive there that resulted in 11,254 members.

Mr. Savage also served as acting executive secretary of the Baltimore branch during 1960. He will work under supervision of Gloster B. Current, NAACP director of branches.

FIELD WORKER FREED

NAACP Attorneys Robert L. Carter and H. T. Lockard made history in Brownsville, Tenn., in February when they won dismissal of a breach

of peace citation against an NAACP field secretary on duty in the Haywood and Fayette County area.

Messrs. Carter and Lockard were the first Negro attorneys to argue a case in the rural court house.

Circuit court Judge John F. Kizer threw out the breach of peace citation against Phillip H. Savage on grounds that there was insufficient evidence.

One white witness testified that he filed a complaint of breach of the peace because Savage was questioning Negroes, lined up to register, in the court house hallway.

The witness said he was playing checkers in a special checkers-room maintained in the court house for citizens of Brownsville. He said Savage's questions disturbed his trend of thought, thereby giving him trouble in his checker game.

Enraged, he called the law.

Judge Kizer congratulated Deputy Sheriff George Sullivan for his "zeal and alertness as a peace officer," but added that he saw no evidence to sustain any breach of peace charge.

Mr. Lockard, in cross examination, asked the witness if Negroes were allowed to play checkers in the court house's checkers-room. The answer was "no."

Savage is one of several full-time NAACP staff members covering the Haywood and Fayette County crisis, which grew out of Negroes seeking their right to vote.

He was arrested and held overnight January 26 and fined $50 the following day and accused of interfering with voter registration, and disturbing the peace.

The NAACP is spearheading coordination of relief efforts of twelve national organizations interested in helping the beleagured victims of militant Jim Crow.

Dayton, Ohio, branch president Dr. M. R. Clarke presents NAACP life membership plaque to Robert Lester Julius, Jr., while Mrs. Miley Williamson, branch executive secretary, presents a plaque to Mr. Julius' father, Robert Louis Julius, Sr. Father and son each paid cash for his membership.

What the Branches Are Doing

California: First prize in the LONG BEACH branch "Christmas Home-Beautiful Contest" was awarded to Mr. and Mrs. Joseph T. Brooks, 2380 Delta Ave., for imagination, originality, and artistry in design and color arrangement.

Second prize was given to Mr. and Mrs. Eddie Wilson, 1209 Olive Ave., who accented the "Christ" in Christmas in their decorations.

For the simplicity of unusual and original arrangement of lights and cards on door panels, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Carter, 1880 Myrtle Ave., were third prize winners.

Honorable mentions went to Mrs. Edna Harrison, 1215 Myrtle Ave., for the blending of symetrical and informal arrangement of lights to produce an effect of rhythmic, quiet gaiety; and to Mr. Dewely Deshotel ,2340 Easy Ave., who effectively blended lights in a sparkling door treatment.

THE VARIETTES, INC., *a club of twelve members in Flushing, N. Y., have taken out a $500 life membership in the NAACP. Mrs. Dorothy Burnett, club president, is presenting the check to Sanford Lewis, president of the Flushing branch. Mrs. Hendrickson (standing 3rd from R) of the Flushing branch solicited the membership*

Bill Carter

NATIONAL *life membership campaign co-chairman, Kivie Kaplan, congratulates Mrs. Alice Reed, life-membership chairman, Corona-East Elmhurst, N. Y., branch for her outstanding work during 1960 as Rev. Robert Sherard, re-elected branch president, looks on. Mrs. Reed, herself a full life member, reported fourteen NAACP life-membership payments during 1960, including six new life members and one paid-in-full membership, totaling $1,300.*

Massachusetts: The BOSTON branch held a very successful brotherhood breakfast on January 15 at which the problems of the Negro minority were brought to the attention of more than four hundred people. Two new life members signed up, approximately forty new regular members, and thirty junior members from the youth group.

Roy Wilkins praised Mr. and Mrs. James Gabrielle and their daughter, guests at the breakfast, as symbols of the fight to integrate Louisiana schools.

Michigan: The DETROIT branch conducted a public mass meeting on the crime-police situation in the Ford Auditorium on January 16. Aim

Richardson's Photos

THIS *group has taken out paid-in-full NAACP life memberships: President Raphael Bullard of the Buffalo, N. Y., branch accepts memberships from (L) Dr. and Mrs. Frank Evans and Mrs. George Seay on behalf of Les Amies Club of which she is president.*

of the meeting was to clarify the issue, to interpret a corrective action program, and to tell citizens what their rights are and how they may protect them.

Edward M. Turner was re-elected president of the Detroit branch for the twelfth consecutive year. Also re-elected were Rev. James Wadsworth, first vice-president; Kelly Fritz, treasurer; and Mrs. Mozell McNorriell, secretary. Ernest Shell and Damon Keith were returned to their positions as second and third vice-presidents respectively.

Friely Johnson was re-elected president of the GRAND RAPIDS branch. Also re-elected were Mrs. Elizabeth Robinson, secretary; Mrs. Charlene Hall, assistant secretary; and Oscar Moore, treasurer. Floyd Skinner and Dr. W. W. Plummer were elected vice-presidents.

E. G. Mumm

AT *the civil-rights rally held by Plainfield, N. J., branch on November 30, 1960, William J. Willis (L) made the final two payments on his NAACP life membership to Dr. John Morsell, assistant to the NAACP executive secretary. Branch secretary Mrs. Rudele Selby stands at right.*

Missouri: Mrs. Margaret Bush Wilson was re-elected president of the ST. LOUIS branch for a two-year term. Major concern for the next two years will be employment, housing, and an expanded political action program.

The branch voted to send $100 to the Fayette county, Tenn., group of Negroes now facing undue hardship as result of their determination to vote in the November 8, 1960, election. An additional $50 was voluntarily donated by individuals present.

Kivie Kaplan, co-chairman of the NAACP national life membership committee, installed the new officers and board members.

Nevada: A hundred Nevada Negroes gathered in the state assembly chambers beneath a historic portrait of Abraham Lincoln on January 14

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS *of the Alethan Club, New York City, after making a $200 payment on their NAACP life membership. They are (from L) Beulah Nicholas, vice-president; Daisey Eaton, treasurer; Elizabeth Eaton and Elizabeth Johnson, members; Beatrice Mitchell, charity committee; Louise Boyd, president; Beatrice Harper, chaplain; Peggy Thomas, business manager; and Pearl Walker, finance secretary.*

and vowed the time had come for them to be free of segregation, discrimination, and economic handicaps. "The time is now" was a phrase repeated over and over during a day-long civil-rights conference convened at the suggestion of Governor Grant Sawyer and attended by many groups, including NAACP representatives from throughout the state.

The conference made it clear Nevada Negroes aren't going to be satisfied with anything short of civil-rights legislation, and as it ended the delegates unanimously passed a resolution to present a model NAACP bill to the governor and the 1961 Legislature and to push for its passage.

The bill would guarantee minorities economic opportunities, end discrimination in housing, and open to them the doors of all Nevada restaurants, hotels, motels, gaming casinos and other public business. It envisions the creation of a civil rights commission with police powers to enforce what would become "the public policy of the state."

What its chances will be in a legislature that has twice turned down an executive request for a Civil Rights Commission to investigate the Nevada situation is questionable.

All Nevada lawmakers were sent invitations to the conference and were asked to complete questionnaires on their civil rights beliefs. Only four—three Republicans and a Democrat—attended, and only five returned the questionaires.

New Jersey: The following officers and members of the executive committee of the MONTCLAIR branch were elected for a two-year term, 1961-62: Joseph Greene, Jr., president; James H. Blair, vice-president; Janet Garrison, recording secretary; Mrs. Kathleen Wibecan, corresponding secretary; and Mrs. Fanny M. Downey, treasurer.

The members of the executive committee are Mrs. Octavia W. Catlett, Rev. C. Lincoln McGee, Rev. Sidney Parker, William Parker, Dr. Norman D. Fletcher, Mrs. Margaret G. Bass, Mrs. Shirley Edwards, Arthur C. Williams, A. Harrison Tate, Norman Lawrence, Mrs. Lillie May Walker, Mrs. Millicent Jenkins, Charles Richardson, Alvin D. Moore, Mrs. Annabelle Williams, Raymond L. Johnson, George E. Wibecan, Jr., Mrs. Julia T. Pinderhughes, Rev. Matthew Carter, Mrs. Frieda Toker, Mrs. Violet Lawrence, Mrs. Audrey C. Green, Bernard Rifkin, and Elizabeth Fitzgerald.

The JERSEY CITY branch is busy making plans for its "Seventh Annual Debutante's Cotillion" to be held at the Jersey City Armory on June 3.

SURROUNDED *by some of the loyal members of the Tennessee State Club, the president, Mrs. Katie G. Campbell (right), presents the club's $500 NAACP life membership check to Mrs. Margaret Bush Wilson, president St. Louis, Mo., branch of the NAACP.*

New York: A generous and heartwarming interracial response was made by citizens of White Plains to the appeal of Grant Reynolds, president of the WHITE PLAINS branch, for aid to the dispossessed tenant farmers of Fayette and Haywood counties, Tennessee.

Over twelve hundred pounds of food and clothing were collected for immediate shipment South during the five-day drive, which ended Thursday, January 12.

The sum of $250, as well as food, were given by the congregations of Bethel Baptist Church, headed by the Reverend Thomas Slater, and Union Baptist Church, headed by the Reverend Louis W. Hughes.

One contribution of two dollars was marked "To be used in whatever way it does the most good," and seemed to express the mood of White Plains citizens of both races.

"The community has answered a cry for help with its heart and our sincere thanks go to every person who has participated in this rescue operation," Reynolds said.

The White Plains Branch will sponsor a future Westchester county-wide interracial effort to continue helping the sharecroppers.

The WILLIAMSBRIDGE branch has installed the following officers for 1961-62: Walter Carlisle, president; Rev. William P. Johnson, first vice-president; Berma Loveless, second vice-president; Louise Martin, secretary; Leonard Pringleton, treasurer; Dolly Jones, assistant secretary; and Myra Springer, corresponding secretary.

Members of the executive board are Harry Ehret, Reuben Burnett, Agnes, Haywood, John Nickens, Dr. James Lewis, Alvin Nall, Frank Smith, LeRoy Burnett, Thelma Smith, Lucia Conyers, Harry Brown, Walter Prevost, Harold Cackier, LaVerne McPherson, Cyril Tyson, Dr. Lawrence Johnson, Orien Adams, Willa Mae Adams, Eunice Brown, Louise Floyd.

THE NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE OF NAACP BRANCHES sent an open letter to Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller on January 7 with respect to the Governor's recommendations affecting discrimination in housing.

The political action committee of the JAMAICA branch, in January, demanded an apology from John Sweek, Queens County Democratic district leader, for insults directed at the NAACP.

Mr. Sweek was said to have objected to the introduction of Attorney Joseph Liff as a member of the NAACP. Mr. Sweek was quoted as stating, among other things, that one should never be introduced as a member of the NAACP.

Pennsylvania: Executive secretary, James K. Baker, of the PHILADELPHIA branch reports on some cases of police brutality in that city.

When a fight broke out in a West Philadelphia dance hall, the Philadelphia police, as usual, made no distinction among Negroes. In this December case, Eddie Anderson and his companion were leaving, had nothing to do with the fight, yet they were grabbed by the police. Eddie's

NAACP SEAL SELLERS—*The youth council of the Kansas City, Mo., branch handled sales of the 1960 Holiday Seal campaign and raised the highest reported amount during the 1960-61 season—$2,194.36. Pictured here selling seals in one of the large grocery chains are youth council members (from L) Jacky McAfee, treasurer; Joan Green; and Mrs. Daisy L. Brown, youth council advisor. Miss Green is also one of the Missouri state "Queen" contestants.*

insistence upon his non-involvement got him a battered head and face, and when his date's pregant sister dared ask the officer to stop the beating, she was shoved to the ground.

Anna Harris, who works for a living, is a respectable woman. She came home to her rear door broken. The police had a "warrant" for numbers. But, of course, there was none.

Georgia: This general statement is from the "Annual Report of the Georgia State Conference of NAACP Branches, 1960":

"Georgia has been astir for better or worse. Herein are recorded a summary of the monthly count-down of the rocketing and/or floundering thrust toward full equality and human dignity in the various facets of community life. The situations, taken altogether, reveal notable progress.

"Beginning on December 24, 1959, when Mr. D. U. Pullum of Terrell County was brutally attacked en route home from Dawson, there has been no holiday for bigotry and no respite for those who work against it. Our facilities for attack have improved. More and stronger branches are awakening. There has been a pretty inclusive attack on segregation in nearly all program areas of the NAACP. Here and there we have gained objectives or seem near to the achievement of them.

"Not only have we had exuberant expressions by the youth in sit-ins, boycotts, selective buying, protest demonstration, wade-ins and otherwise, but the adults are being shaken out of their conservatism. More adults are assuming new leadership roles. Some new leadership has been brought into the branch structures and the State Conference organizations.

"The reported incidents of violence against Negroes, threats of violence, peculiar court justice, and requests for investigation of other troubles are on the increase. However, law enforcement has improved in a number of places, and responsible civic leadership is asserting itself behind the "equal protection of the laws."

"There are lots of 'ifs' which may seem apologetic, but the 'ifs' are in the index of our hopes for 1961. So, we continue on the optimistic note upon which we embarked in 1960, and which gave prophetic character to our work in Georgia."

DEACONS' UNION RAISES FUNDS—*The Chester, Pa., branch neared the close of its freedom-fund drive with more than $500. The money was raised in a special drive sponsored by the Deacons' Union of Chester and vicinity. Pictured (front row from L) are Rosa Ballard, Dorothy Williams, Linda Wilson, Lurlean Johnson, freedom fund chairman; Calvin Banks, NAACP field secretary; Sylvia Jackson, Rev. F. S. Randolph, and Mary Thomas. In the back row are (from L) Arthur Hudson, Ulysses Bagley, R. W. Williams, and Wesley Williams.*

College and School News

The Ph.D. degree in conservation and conservation education was conferred on Theodore R. Speigner, director of the division of resource-use education and professor of geography at NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE at Durham, by the University of Michigan on January 21. Dr. Speigner is the first Negro in the United States to receive the doctor's degree in conservation.

■

Annual religious-emphasis week was observed at BISHOP COLLEGE February 12-17. The theme for the week was "Christian youth confronts world crisis." The leaders were Dr. James W. Parrish, pastor of the Shiloh Baptist Church, Columbus, Ohio; and Rev. J. Castina Jackson, pastor of the Paradise Baptist Church, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

■

Roland Hayes, distinguished tenor and exponent of lieder, gave a song recital at the NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH, New York City, on January 20. Mr. Hayes' recital covered six centuries of music, including religious folksongs of his own arrangement.

■

"Christian responsibility, the challenge of the new Africa," was the theme of the first conference held at the new INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER, January 30-31. The conference was sponsored by the department of missions of the ITC.

The extension department of the ITC is offering adult-education programs in Thomasville, Atlanta, and Griffin, Georgia, and at Birmingham, Alabama.

■

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Pa.) will offer a departmental honors program to be effective September, 1961.

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THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY presented famous explorers in a series of eight illustrated lectures, which began on February 8. Among the lecturers are Dr. Margaret Mead, famous anthropologist; John Cochran, skin-diver and underwater photographer; Dr. Harry L. Shapiro, anthropologist and chairman of the AMNH's department of anthropology; and Dr. Dean Amadon, chairman of the AMNH's department of ornithology.

■

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE has inaugurated a new course entitled "African Life and Culture." The course will consist of a "study of the African peoples; their physical environment, resources, and cultures; their forms of economic, social, and political organization; their major movements and problems; their relations with other peoples; and their contributions to civilization." Special attention will be given to the rise of African nationalism and its relation to the problems of war and peace.

■

BOSTON UNIVERSITY is offering seven fellowships of $2,000 each for the 1961-62 academic year to candidates studying for advanced degrees. These fellowships are available in degree programs in the fields of psychology, sociology, anthropology, theology, education, social work, philosophy and other studies.

Dr. E. A. Boateng, senior lecturer in geography at the University College of Ghana, was the first speaker of the New Year, under the auspices of BU's African studies program.

CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE's ROTC cadet Frederick H. Leigh out-performed 73 other contestants to win second-place honors in the university annual invitation Pershing rfles drill competition held at Xavier University, Cincinnati, Ohio.

■

The OMEGA PSI PHI fraternity made a cash award of $250 to the James Gabrielle family of Providence, R. I., for their heroic action in refusing to withdraw their daughter from an integrated New Orleans public school. The Gabrielles moved to Providence from New Orleans.

■

Contributions to the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND's 1960 campaign topped the two-million-dollar mark for the first time in the history of the organization. More than 4,000 volunteers worked in 125 campaign centers across the country to raise a total of $2,035,020.

James C. Tate has been named director of the UNCF's region number two, which includes Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Wilmington, and the state of New Jersey.

■

Charter Day ceremonies for the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY center chapter of the Society for Advancement of Management were held on January 8.

The school of library service at Atlanta is one of ten library schools in the United States which will receive a grant from the H. W. Wilson Foundation of New York for scholarship purposes. The scholarship of $1,000 will be known as the H. W. Wilson Scholarship.

Harvard professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., in discussing "America's domestic future: its perils and prospects," at AU in January said that the elimination of racial inequalities is given first place among the problems facing President Kennedy.

■

Dr. M. E. Toney, Jr. and J. E. Perry, Jr., of the division of natural sciences and mathematics of VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY attended the 127th meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science held in New York City, December 26-31.

■

FISK UNIVERSITY is going to strengthen and expand its role as it enters its second century by seeking six million dollars for endowment and increased physical facilities.

■

Guilbert A. Daley, assistant professor of English and director of drama and speech at SHAW UNIVERSITY has written a play which has been published in the December issue of *Carolina Quarterly*. The play, "Kiss the Book," is a one-act, farce comedy on the voting rights of Negroes in the South in general as well as in North Carolina.

■

Dr. C. Philip Butcher, professor of English at MORGAN STATE COLLEGE, is writing a book on George Washington Cable to be published

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The Association for Higher Education has selected Morgan as one of fourteen colleges and universities for a study of faculty compensation practices during the period 1959-60.

Victor Chukwude Okwuosa, a graduate of Morgan, has been awarded a $4,500 fellowship towards his doctor's degree at the New School for Social Research, New York City.

■

Five Congolese students—speaking English almost as well as their native French—concluded a 16-week English language course at COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY'S American Language Center in January.

■

HOWARD UNIVERSITY president James M. Nabrit, Jr., has appointed Dr. Wm. Stuart Nelson as vice-president for special projects, G. Frederick Stanton as university secretary and director of public relations, and Wendell G. Morgan as business manager.

THE *Mount Vernon, Illinois, youth council receives its charter from Dr. L. H. Holman (L, center), president of the Illinois State Conference of NAACP Branches.*

Mary Jane Studio

Book Reviews

SOME AFRICAN LEADERS

Profiles of African Leaders. **By Thomas Patrick Melady. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961. XII+186pp. $4.95.**

Common Sense About Africa. **By Anthony Sampson. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960. 175pp. $2.95.**

We have here two books on essentially the same subject. One limns some of the leaders who are shaping the new Africa; the other outlines the problems of Black Africa to be faced by some of these leaders.

Dr. Melady's book is disappointing, because of its superficiality. The author does not seem to know too much about any of the men—Haile Selassie, Julius Nyerere, Sékou Touré, Nkrumah, Senghor, *et al.*—he profiles. He begins each profile with a precis of the country, its early history, and the land and the people.

A few examples to show how careless the author is with many of his facts. He says that Léopold-Sedar Senghor authored the idea of "négritude." Whereas it was authored by Aimé Césaire, a Martinican, in his famous book of poems, *Notes on a Return to the Native Country*. *Négritude*, likewise, is so imprecise a term that it has many meanings, not just the one our author gives. It is "Central State College," not "Central State University," and it was not formerly "Wilberforce Institute High School." Revealing sidelights about many of these men could have been included, but our author apparently is not aware of them. Abdullahi Issa of Somalia, for instance, received tremendous aid from the NAACP while he was petitioning UN for help in freeing his country. He spent as much time in the offices of the NAACP as he did in the corridors at UN. And he could have told us that Sir Ahmadu Bello and Sylvanus Olympio, as their names suggest, are descendants of Brazilian Negro families which returned to West Africa.

Mr. Sampson divides his book into two parts. In the first, he outlines the basic problems of nationalism, white settlers, liberals, blackness, and Panafrica; part two examines selected problems in specific colonies. "So long as white minorities rule over Africa," he says in writing about white settlers, "the attitude of all white men is suspect." The ineffectiveness of "white liberals," he points out, is due to the fact that they are "caught between the whirlpool of white supremacy and the grinding rocks of black nationalism . . . hence they are unwelcome on either side." And he adds: "Nearly every white politician has at one time described himself as a liberal, and it can mean no more than being friendly to Africans—in their place."

To the so-called free world Mr.

Sampson gives this warning:

"The more Africa becomes 'polarized' into independent black states in the West and East, and white-ruled states in the North and South, the more difficult it becomes for the world outside to sit on the fence: and between 195 million Africans and 5 million Europeans, there can be only one eventual outcome."

Mr. Sampson, who edited *Drum* magazine in Johannesburg for five years, has written a lively document of clearsightness and moral courage.

J.W.I.

TWO PAMPHLETS

Tom Kahn's *Unfinished Revolution* (New York: Igal Roodenko, 1960, 50¢), with forwords by Norman Thomas and James Dawson, gives a brief historical sketch of the problems which have faced American Negroes since emancipation, an explanation of protest movements and the southern "sit-ins," and suggestions for future action. It also contains a chronological list of sit-in and other protest demonstrations. Chapter headings are "The Negro Revolts," "The Fight for Freedom," "The Negro and Labor," "The Negro and American Politics," and "What Next?" There is also a short bibliography and a table of sit-in victories.

One of the problems faced by workers in human or interracial relations is where to find vital, useful material. Now, their problem, so far as material is concerned, is solved by the *Resource Handbook in Human Relations* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Council on Human Relations, 1960, $1.15). There are ten sections in the Handbook: books, dance, drama, education, films, groups, housing, music, pamphlets, and poetry. Each item is annotated. Books, for example, are classified by the type of reader—primary, intermediate, junior-high, etc. — biography, fiction, adult fiction, etc. The "dance" lists leaders of various dance groups as well as books and recordings.

The Handbook is a very handy guide to have around.

DR. L. H. HOLMAN *(center), president of the Illinois State Conference of NAACP Branches, presents a charter to the newly-organized Dixon, Illinois, branch.*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

To the Editor of The Crisis:

I submit for publication this condensed reply to your comment on my book: *The Name "Negro" Its Origin And Evil Use.* You declare this to be a "nonsense question, because it has no answer." But failure to perceive the answer does not remove it. Briefly, "Negro" is not the right name, because of its slave origin, its consequent degradation, and its still prevalent connection in the minds of people generally with prejudice, vileness, inferiority, and hostility, and further, because this name woefully fails to set forth the true, vital, and honorable connection of our people with ancestral or present land, history, and culture.

"Linguistically speaking," you write, "there is no such thing as a right name." But once meanings are accepted in general usage, then there are *right* or *wrong* words in terms of these meanings. Obviously, then, what makes no sense at all is your rash and erroneous pronouncement that it is "nonsense" to consider a group name right or wrong.

How can you assert that "words have no power to alter matter and circumstance? This is wholly contrary to the findings of scientific students of language. At such a statement one stands aghast! For if that be true, then there is no valid reason for the existence of *The Crisis* or the NAACP. But such organs have validity precisely because words must be used to spur action to alter oppressive circumstance.

That the meanings of words change is plainly realized by me. See pages 18-19 where I note the change from "negros' *simply meaning blacks,*" in the Catalan Atlas dated 1375, to a slave name in Azurara's Chronicle of 1453. Besides, your analogy with *Quaker, Tory,* and *Methodist* does not fit. Unlike these others, this name "negro" went down the scale of human values to an all time low and stayed down for five hundred years. Is it not time to cast off this badge of shame?

You assume any new name would "soon become a term of derision." But some time would pass before this could be loaded, as "Negro" now is. If then the fight for full human rights were intensified, *Afroamerican* would still connote worthy African heritage and present citizenship.

Ignoring the historical study made in the book, you become involved in "accidents of history" and contradiction as to when "negro" became a slave term, since you point first to 1468 and then to 1863. However, you are compelled to admit that "negro" did become a slave term "freighted with overtones of prejudice." Why then cling to it?

Likewise, you fail to refer to the many debasing usages of "negro" quoted from various dictionaries and encyclopedias, or to the proof that this degrading name was not used by the Greeks or Romans, nor in the Hebrew or Christian scriptures. Besides, you gloss over coldly the cunning constriction of the "true negro" into a small area on the west coast *to divide Africans and to cut us off from them.* Further, you ignore how this misnomer "Negro" gained wide acceptance only after 1892, due to the arch-accommodator to white supremacy, Booker T. Washington. Hence, I must ask: Did you really read the book before condemning it?

Finally, you pose the change of name against the fight for "complete equality." "Achieve that," you say, "and any name will have dignity." But by "any" you thereby affirm that such vile names as "negress," "nigger," "darkey," "coon," "shine," "spook," "mulatto bastard" and the like would thus become dignified! If "complete equality" is not a mere

rallying cry, then this must include the fight to abolish the evil use of the oppressors' vicious smear name "Negro." Indeed, this should spark the struggle for the "social elevation" of our people.

Let me hope, therefore that you and the NAACP will join and lead in this necessary campaign to secure a good name—Afroamerican—and a true and worthy image in the public mind, of and for our people.

RICHARD B. MOORE
New York City
January 19, 1961

NIGERIAN ELITE

To the Editor of *The Crisis:*

A reviewer's responsibility requires him to read a book carefully, to be familiar with the literature to which it belongs, to assess the book within the limits set by the authors' purpose, and to be accurate in interpreting it. This has hardly been done by Irene Diggs in her review of our book, *The New Nigerian Elite*. On page viii of the preface we said: "It is the intention of the authors to offer a descriptive analysis of the Nigerian new elite." The study was not concerned with the history and politics of Nigeria, this not being necessary to the fulfillment of our task. These chapters were included as an aid to the general reader who would need this background in order to understand some of the influences upon the new elite. We point out on page 9 that "No institutional study of the traditional tribal elite as such was made; traditional rulers came into the study only in so far as traditional and newer elite converged in one person." Where this happened and where it was pertinent to the analysis, it was given attention, as a careful reading of the book will reveal. Thus we are at a loss to comprehend the reviewer's statement: "A history and description of the traditional elite might have been more appropriate and useful." For our purposes this was neither appropriate nor useful to the kind of study we made, as the material in the introductory chapter on method, procedure, and purpose will reveal.

The object of this study was to describe and analyze the elite group as we found them, not to analyze *Who's Who in Nigeria*. It might have been of interest to the reviewer to learn more about this biographical index, but it was certainly not within the scope of the book and its purpose.

As to "The Marginal Elite," if the reviewer had read Chapter X she would not have needed to ask whether "all well-educated persons are marginal," since it is clearly stated that

> The 156 persons interviewed in this study were all examples of success . . . but . . . particularly among the less established middle level of the elite, there are many whose personalities have absorbed more of the strain than the success, more loneliness than acceptance. . . . They are the marginal elite. . . . (pp. 154-155)

Repeatedly, in the analysis of the marginal elite, reference is made to them as *"some* of these Western- trained and oriented young men (italics ours) (p. 157), *"some* of the younger elite educated in the United States" (italics ours) (p. 159), those "who *sometimes* return with feelings like those described" (italics ours) (p. 161).

The reviewer's comments about business illustrate the carelessness with which she has handled quotations out of context. The paragraph from which she quoted reads:

> As yet there is only a nucleus of a business elite, defined as those engaged in private enterprise of substantial proportions in terms of investment and capital holdings. Business in Nigeria has long been and still is in the hands of foreigners. . . . It is only recently that

> Nigerians have attempted to try their skill in the competitive world of business. Petty traders and shopkeepers have been and still are numerous. . . . But business comparable in size to those operated by foreign companies has been alien to the indigenous entrepreneur. (pp. 83, 85)

Since we are under the impression that this is the first full-length study of the Nigerian new elite, we would appreciate the reviewer's informing us of those "earlier studies" on the subject of the "Growth of the New Elite" to which she refers. Can she mean a few scattered articles, some of which we wrote? And if we are to be accused of making "many generalizations," the reviewer has an obligation to state some of them and indicate how they "raise questions."

There are, of course, many things that authors might include when developing a book, but so long as they adhere to the task they set for themselves they can hardly be criticized for not doing what someone else thinks might have been a better task. The reviewer will admit, we are sure, that *The New Nigerian Elite* was developed within the limits, set forth on page viii, that "this analysis could not be definitive. Later studies, it is to be hoped, will be able to refine, to clarify, to fill in lacunae, to follow specific trails with greater detail and depth." We hope it is evident that we understand that we were pioneering and know that much yet remains to be done.

Hugh and Mabel Smythe
New York City
February 7, 1961

REVIEWER'S REPLY TO AUTHORS' REPLY

My review states "Two of the first three chapters [not the book] of *The New Nigerian Elite* are devoted to the history and political development of Nigeria." My suggestion is that "A history and description of the traditional elite might have been more appropriate and useful"; that is, substituted for these two chapters.

With regard to business and commerce: Nigerians may not be owners of large private enterprises but the facts seem to substantiate that Nigerians engaged in small economic activities control "sixty-six per cent of the commerce of distribution" which, perhaps, should be taken into consideration before making the generalization "Business in Nigeria has long been and still is in the hands of foreigners. . . . It is only recently that Nigerians have attempted to try their skill in the competitive world of business." May I add, small business may be very competitive.

As earlier studies on the subject of the "Growth of the New Elite," may I list the following chapters (pp. 63-169) in *Nigeria:* Background to Nationalism by James S. Coleman: Chapter 3, Western Economics; 4, Christianity and European Missionaries; 5, Western Education; 6, The Westernized Elite. These chapters give an excellent analysis of the basic factors in the growth and development of the "New Nigerian Elite."

I had in mind with regard to "generalizations" and "raised questions" the following:

Page's 4, 5 "Any consideration of so different a society"—What basically is *so different* about Nigerian society?

Page 52 "The extent to which this section[b] [of the city] is reserved to Europeans varies in degree and rigidity with policies of the governing powers; only in the Belgian Congo and farther south is there legal protection of its 'white' status." What about East Africa: Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda?

Page 68 "A young man studying abroad normally had, for example, no close family or community contacts with women which raise for him the question of the position of women in

the society." What about the experience of young Africans in England and in the United States?

Page 80 "There is practically unanimous acknowledgement by people from all walks of life that the government elite is *the* elite in contemporary Nigeria." What is the basis or evidence for this generalization?

Page 171 "At the moment, any hope of [Nigerians] dominating business in the early future appears to be more visionary than realistic. . . ." Even by Nigerian government ownership?

Irene Diggs
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Md.
February 10, 1961

CIVIL RIGHTS COST CASH—*African Lodge 459, #63 Free and Accepted Masons, Prince Hall Affiliate, is now an NAACP life member. Standing (from L) are Atty. George Fleary, Jack Wood, Jr., NAACP housing assistant, who made the presentation; A. Phillip Randolph, NAACP vice-president (seated); and William E. Jenkins, Most Worshipful Master.*

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